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 FM AMEMBASSY AMMAN
 TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4770
 INFO RUEHAD/USINT BAGHDAD 2136
 RUQMBE/AMEMBASSY BEIRUT 1905
 RUEHEG/AMEMBASSY CAIRO 9006
 RUEHDM/AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS 7190
 RUEHJM/AMCONSUL JERUSALEM 2739
 RUEHJ1/AMEMBASSY JIDDA 6899
 RUEHTV/AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV 3662
 BT
 C O N F I D E N T I A L AMMAN 00013 COMBINED SECTION

EXDIS

E.O. 12065: GDS 01/02/88 (VIETS, RICHARD N.)OR-M
 TAGS: PEPR JU US IS EG
 SUBJECT: SENATOR PERCY'S MEETING WITH MINISTER
 OF INFORMATION ADNAN ABU ODEH

1. (CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: SENATOR PERCY MET WITH MINISTER
 OF INFORMATION ADNAN ABU ODEH DECEMBER 31.
 ABU ODEH SAID THAT PALESTINIANS LIVING UNDER
 OCCUPATION WILL SUPPORT ANY PROPOSAL INCLUDING
 A JORDANIAN-PALESTINIAN CONFEDERATION WHICH
 WOULD END THE OCCUPATION. PALESTINIANS HAVE
 TWO CHOICES: (1) THE RABAT SUMMIT DECISION

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AND NO PROGRESS, OR (2) FULL AUTONOMY AS DEFINED BY CAMP DAVID, WHERE IT MEANS AUTONOMY FOR LAND, NOT JUST PEOPLE. AFTER THE SINAI WITHDRAWAL, HE SAID, THE U.S. AND EGYPT COULD FORCE THE PALESTINIANS TO MAKE THE CHOICE TO TURN TO JORDAN AS A PARTNER. MIN INFO ABU ODEH SUGGESTED THAT THE OLD CITY OF JERUSALEM MIGHT BE PUT UNDER THE CONTROL OF AN INTERNATIONAL ORDER AND THE REMAINDER OF IT LEFT UNDER JEWISH CONTROL. SENATOR PERCY TOLD ABU ODEH THAT SHARON SAID ISRAEL HAD BETTER RELATIONS WITH EGYPT THAN IT DOES WITH THE U.S. ABU ODEH SAID JORDAN IS LOOKING FORWARD TO PEACE AND FULL RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL AND CITED THE MED-DEAD CANAL AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE BENEFIT OF PEACE. ABU ODEH HOPED THE U.S. WOULD SUPPORT SANCTIONS AGAINST ISRAEL FOR THE GOLAN ANNEXATION. END SUMMARY.

3. SENATOR PERCY ACCOMPANIED BY AID DIRECTOR MCPHERSON, AMBASSADOR VIETS, STAFFER COHEN AND PAU TAYLOR (NOTETAKER), CALLED ON MINISTER OF INFORMATION ADNAN ABU ODEH ON DECEMBER 31. SENATOR PERCY REVIEWED THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND SAID THAT DURING HIS EARLIER MEETING WITH A NUMBER OF LEADING JORDANIANS HE HAD SAID THAT "TIME IS RUNNING OUT IN THE AREA...WITHOUT A SOLUTION TO THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM THERE COULD BE NO PEACE...WHAT IS THE NEXT STEP, IF YOU WANT PEACE?" THE GROUP HAD GIVEN HIM CONFLICTING ANSWERS. SENATOR PERCY SAID HE HAD MET ON THE WEST BANK WITH THREE WEST BANK PALESTINIANS, WHO AGREED THAT IF THE IMPORTANT ARAB ELEMENTS WOULD AGREE TO ASK JORDAN TO WORK WITH THE PLO TO ESTABLISH A PALESTINIAN HOMELAND IN CONFEDERATION WITH JORDAN, AND WITH KING HUSSEIN AS THE SENIOR LEADER, THE WEST BANKERS AND GAZANS WOULD CERTAINLY ACCEPT IT. PERCY SAID THIS WAS NOT APPARENTLY ACCEPTABLE TO THE JORDANIANS HE HAD MET SO FAR.

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4. MIN. INFORMATION ABU ODEH RESPONDED BY SAYING THE ANSWERS DEPEND ON WHO GIVES THE ANSWERS. ONE MUST REMEMBER THAT THE WEST BANKERS ARE LIVING WITH THE REALITY OF ISRAELI OCCUPATION, WHILE THE JORDANIANS AND OTHER ARABS ARE NOT. THE MAIN GOAL OF THE WEST BANKERS AND GAZANS IS TO GET THE ISRAELIS OUT IN ANY FASHION POSSIBLE. MANY JORDANIANS FAIL TO UNDERSTAND THIS BUT THE KING DOES AND IS CONCERNED BY THE TURN OF EVENTS SINCE RABAT. MANY EAST BANKERS HAD BEEN PLEASED WITH THE DECISIONS AT RABAT, BUT THEY WERE WRONG FOR ALTHOUGH THE SUMMIT PROMISED THE PLO WOULD NEGOTIATE A STATE FOR THE PALESTINIANS, AND MOST FELT THIS WOULD OCCUR WITHIN A YEAR, THE RESULT WAS THE OPPOSITE AND THERE IS NO PALESTINIAN STATE. NEITHER ISRAEL NOR THE U.S. WILL EVER SPEAK TO THE PLO, LET ALONE BARGAIN WITH IT.

5. SINCE 1974 JORDANIANS HAVE BECOME FINANCIALLY MUCH BETTER OFF AND TODAY THE PRINCIPAL GOAL OF THIS SOCIETY IS STABILITY. EVERYONE, EVEN THE PALESTINIANS, IS DOING VERY WELL THESE DAYS AND NO ONE WANTS TO LOSE HIS ECONOMIC GAINS.

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6. TO WEST BANKERS, ABU ODEH SAID, STILL UNDER OCCUPATION, THERE ARE TWO CHOICES: REMAIN WITH THE RABAT DECISION AND MAKE NO PROGRESS WHATSOEVER, OR MOVE UNDER A "PROPERLY DEFINED" CAMP DAVID FULL AUTONOMY. THE ISRAELI DEFINITION OF FULL AUTONOMY IS NOT ACCEPTABLE TO ANY ARAB, WHEREAS THE EGYPTIAN VIEW IS ACCEPTABLE WHEN IT MEANS BEING MASTER OF YOUR LAND.

7. AFTER THE SINAI WITHDRAWAL, IF THE U.S. SIDES WITH EGYPT, THEN THERE IS HOPE FOR THE PALESTINIANS. BUT IF THE U.S. IS NEUTRAL OR SIDES WITH ISRAEL, THERE WILL NEVER BE PEACE. HOWEVER, IF THE U.S. AND EGYPT PREVAIL, THE PALESTINIANS WOULD HAVE TO TURN TO THE PLO AND OTHER ARABS (NOT JORDAN) AND ASK WHAT

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FORMULA COULD GIVE US OUR HOMELAND? THIS WILL THEN FORCE THE PLO AND OTHER ARABS TO MAKE BASIC DECISIONS AND COULD LEAD TO JORDAN BEING BROUGHT IN AS A PARTNER IN PEACE TALKS. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT COULD ALSO LEAD TO THE WEST BANKERS AND GAZANS DECIDING THAT THE PLO COULD DO NOTHING. MIN. INFORMATION ABU ODEH URGED THE U.S. IN THE PERIOD FROM APRIL TO JUNE 1982 TO MAKE IT CLEAR PUBLICLY THAT U.S. STANDS WITH EGYPT ON THE QUESTION OF AUTONOMY.

8. SENATOR PERCY THEN ASKED THE MINISTER IF THE SETTLEMENTS ISSUE, THROUGH AUTONOMY NEGOTIATIONS, IS SETTLED, WHAT COULD BE DONE ABOUT JERUSALEM? MIN. INFORMATION ABU ODEH ANSWERED THAT ONE MUST MAKE THE OLD CITY AN INTERNATIONAL CITY, PERHAPS UNDER CONTROL OF RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS, AND ALLOW THE ARABS TO CALL EVERYTHING EAST AND NORTH OF IT JERUSALEM (USING THE ARAB WORD) AND THE JEWS MAY DO THE SAME FOR THEIR SECTIONS (USING THE HEBREW WORD).

9. ABU ODEH SAID THAT THE SETTLEMENTS REMAIN THE BASIC OBSTACLE TO PEACE BECAUSE ISRAELIS WANT AS MUCH TERRITORY AS POSSIBLE. HE WOULD "RENT" KEY MILITARY AREAS ON THE WEST BANK TO THE ISRAELIS FOR 25 YEARS. THIS WOULD REASSURE THEM AS THEY COULD BUILD WHATEVER MILITARY FORTIFICATIONS THEY NEEDED THERE.

10. SENATOR PERCY SAID THERE ARE MANY ISRAELIS CONCERNED ABOUT THE SETTLEMENTS AND WHO DO NOT ACCEPT THE IDEA. THEY MAY BE THE MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION AND ONLY WANT A BETTER FUTURE FOR THEIR COUNTRY AND THEIR CHILDREN. THEY WANT DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION BY ALL ARAB STATES, FULL PEACE TREATIES AND FULL INTERCOURSE-- INCLUDING TOURISM, TRADE, COMMERCE AND EXCHANGE OF TECHNOLOGY. THEY NO LONGER WANT TO BE ISOLATED FROM THEIR NEIGHBORS NOR TO HAVE A DEFENSE BUDGET THAT TAKES 40 PERCENT OF THE NATIONAL BUDGET AND WANT TO RID THEMSELVES OF

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TRIPLE DIGIT INFLATION.

11. THE SENATOR THEN ASKED IF KING HUSSEIN COULD HEAD A CONFEDERATION BETWEEN THE EAST AND WEST BANK. THE MINISTER WARNED THAT NO ONE CAN CONCEIVE OF SECURITY WITHOUT FULL, NORMAL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. BOTH JORDAN AND THOSE IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AGREE BUT QUESTION THE MEANING OF FULL AUTONOMY. IF ONLY EGYPT AND THE U.S. COULD WORK ON THIS, THEN OTHER ARAB STATES COULD FOLLOW.

12. THE SENATOR THEN MENTIONED HIS MEETING WITH ISRAELI LEADERS AND SAID MINISTER OF DEFENSE SHARON HAD COMMENTED THAT IT IS MOST STRANGE THAT TODAY ISRAEL HAS BETTER RELATIONS WITH EGYPT THAN IT DOES WITH THE U.S. THE SENATOR OBSERVED THAT PRESIDENT MUBARAK NEEDS THE SUPPORT OF THE MODERATE ARABS. MUBARAK MUST BE ABLE TO REACH OUT TO THE MODERATE ARABS IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

13. MIN. INFORMATION ABU ODEH REPLIED THAT JORDAN IS TRULY LOOKING FORWARD TO THE FUTURE, WITH A REAL PEACE AND FULL RELATIONS WITH EXDIS

ISRAEL. HE CITED THE MED-DEAD CANAL AS AN EXAMPLE OF HOW ISRAEL WOULD BENEFIT FROM FULL PEACE. THE CANAL, ASSUMING THE TWO PLANNED TOGETHER, COULD BE OF SIGNIFICANT IMPORTANCE TO BOTH STATES.

14. SENATOR PERCY THEN ASKED ABOUT THE UPCOMING UNSC VOTE ON THE GOLAN. HE POINTED OUT THAT JORDAN, AS A NEW MEMBER OF THE UNSC, HAS THE RESPONSIBILITY TO MOVE THINGS FORWARD FOR PEACE. HE ASKED WHAT WILL THE SYRIANS DO, ADDING QUICKLY THAT THE U.S. IS TRYING TO WORK WITH THE SYRIANS THESE DAYS AND SAID THAT THE U.S. WANTS TO SUPPORT ANY ACTION THAT WILL MOVE TOWARD PEACE.

15. ABU ODEH TALKED ABOUT THE U.S. DECISION TO

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IMPOSE SANCTIONS ON THE SOVIET UNION THIS PAST MONTH AND SAID MANY ARABS ARE AWAITING THE U.N. VOTE TO SEE IF THE U.S. SUPPORTS SANCTIONS. HE URGED THE U.S. TO MAKE IT CLEAR ONCE AGAIN THAT IT SUPPORTS ALL ASPECTS OF 242 AS THIS WILL PUT PRESSURE ON ISRAEL, BEGIN, AND ASSIST THE LABOR ALIGNMENT. HE PERSONALLY WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE U.S. VOTE FOR SANCTIONS AND THEN IMPLEMENT THEM.

16. AMBASSADOR VIETS THEN BRIEFLY REVIEWED U.S. STRATEGY IN FORTHCOMING UNSC SESSION. HE STRESSED U.S. INTENT TO DEVELOP A RESOLUTION WHICH DOES NOTHING TO LEGITIMIZE KNESSET ACTION ON GOLAN AND WHICH REAFFIRMS NEED FOR NEGOTIATION WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF UN RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338. HE EMPHASIZED U.S. WILL NOT ACCEPT ANY RESOLUTION CALLING FOR SANCTIONS AGAINST ISRAEL AND URGED JORDANIAN AND OTHER MODERATE SUPPORT OF OUR POSITION.

17. THE MINISTER THEN URGED THE U.S. TO HAVE THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION LUMP THE WEST BANK AND GAZA WITH GOLAN AND RESOLUTION 242 AS ALL ONE ISSUE. AMBASSADOR VIETS OBSERVED THAT SYRIA MAY NOT DO THIS AS IT HAS NEVER OFFICIALLY RECOGNIZED 242. HE ADDED THAT IT IS ALWAYS HARD TO PERSUADE THE SYRIANS TO CHANGE THEIR MINDS, BUT WE ARE WORKING WITH THEM. MIN. INFORMATION ABU ODEH REMARKED THAT BECAUSE OF U.S. AND WORLD PRESSURE ON THE SOVIETS OVER POLAND, THEY ARE TELLING THE SYRIANS TO BE INFLEXIBLE, AND THUS DIVERT ATTENTION AWAY FROM POLAND. THE SENATOR COMMENTED THAT THE U.S. IS NOW WORRIED THAT FURTHER PRESSURE ON ISRAEL WILL MAKE THEM LASH OUT.

18. MIN. INFORMATION ABU ODEH REJECTED THE IDEA THAT ISRAEL MIGHT ANNEX THE WEST BANK FOR THAT WOULD GIVE THE PALESTINIANS THE RIGHT TO VOTE IN ISRAEL, SOMETHING BEGIN DARES NOT ALLOW. TODAY'S SITUATION IS BETTER.

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FOR ISRAEL AS IT IS DE FACTO ANNEXATION.

19. SENATOR PERCY ASKED WHAT IS THE STATE OF SYRIAN-JORDANIAN BILATERAL RELATIONS. MIN. INFORMATION ABU ODEH ANSWERED THEY WERE STRAINED BECAUSE OF THE IRAQI-SYRIAN COMPETITION. JORDAN WILL KEEP ITS FRIENDSHIP WITH IRAQ. THE KING IS STILL UPSET ABOUT THE MASSING OF SYRIAN TROOPS LAST YEAR ALONG THE BORDER. HE WANTS TO WORK FOR AREA PEACE, BUT SYRIA BLOCKS PEACE AND CAN PREVENT ANY POSITIVE STEPS. THE PLO HAS NO ROOM FOR MANEUVERING SO LONG AS SYRIA REMAINS SO STRONG. VIETS

END OF MESSAGE

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